

# The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 27, 1871.

## The Week.

THE session of Congress closed in the House with a more than usually repulsive row between Mr. B. F. Butler and two of his enemies, Messrs. Beck and Farnsworth, brought on, as is so often the case, by "a personal explanation" on Butler's part. The origin of the trouble was to be found in a previous row of the same estimable citizen with Garrett Davis of Kentucky in the Senate, occurring a week earlier; and the way in which this one was treated by the Republican press goes far to explain much of Butler's bad eminence and mischievous activity. Davis might be—what we understand, however, he is not, but the contrary—a quarrelsome and ill-mannered man, but he is old, and is entitled to speak in his place in the Senate without annoyance or insult as long as he observes the rules of that body. He was speaking in a perfectly proper and inoffensive manner when Butler strolled into the Chamber, planted himself close to him, and right in front of him, and began to gaze fixedly at him. Now, Butler's expression of face is not prepossessing, and when turned on an enemy is not soothing or exhilarating, and Davis hated him—he knew he hated him, and doubtless meant to annoy him, and did annoy him very effectually—so effectually that Davis began to curse and swear and made preparations to pummel him; whereupon Senator Wilson interfered, and led Butler gently away. A more inexcusable outrage has rarely been perpetrated in a legislative body, or in fact any deliberative body whatever, than Butler's performance was under the circumstances; and yet the majority of the Republican papers came down far harder on Davis than on Butler; in fact, as far as our observation has gone, few, if any, seemed to think Butler was to blame. Davis, as might have been expected, made a subsequent attack on him in the Senate; this led Butler to make a "personal explanation" in the House; and this led Beck to reply, by bringing up a story of one of Butler's "frauds," and there then followed a bout of billingsgate, in which Farnsworth of Illinois took part, and in which Butler got horribly mauled, and lost his temper, and was reduced at the close to the necessity of telling Farnsworth that he was "not a white man," the House all the while roaring with laughter.

When we consider that there is probably not a man in the United States that would say he respected Butler, or had the slightest confidence in him, that his attempts at legislation have all displayed wickedness and folly in about equal proportions, and that he has probably done as much to debase the tone of public life at Washington as any ten of the worst men who have ever made their appearance in Congress, the tender indulgence with which the press treats him is highly discreditable, and very mischievous as well. It is bad enough, in all conscience, to have such a man returned by a Massachusetts constituency, but when the leading papers of the party of moral ideas always treat him as a simple oddity, and his tricks and dodges as the playful gambols of a rich and exuberant nature, they help greatly to lower the public standard of statesmanship, and open political life to charlatans and rogues of all degrees. The *Tribune* has at last, apropos of this last affair, spoken of him as he deserves. If the respectable Republican press would only give him his due, the task of finishing him might apparently be left to Mr. Farnsworth, who is evidently too much for him, and rejoices in hunting him with a savage joy.

The Supreme Court has, it is now positively announced, decided—five against four judges—that the Legal Tender Act was constitutional; that is, reversing the decision of the court last year, which denied the applicability of the act to contracts made before its passage. Of course, if constitutional with regard to these, it is *a fortiori* constitutional with

regard to contracts made since its passage. Judges Miller, Swayne, Davis, Bradley, and Strong are said to form the majority—the Chief Justice, whose health we are glad to say is nearly restored—and Judges Nelson, Clifford, and Field dissenting. There will be two opinions published, of course, but not till December. The act will now be sustained by the same majority—that is, one—which in the former decision overruled it, and it is certainly as ridiculous to allow one man to mulet all the creditors in the country in February, 1862, of from twenty-five to fifty per cent. of their dues, and shake confidence in all contracts, and reverse a decision of the Supreme Court, as to allow one man to set aside the construction placed by Congress on a clause of the Constitution. The present action of the Court is to be deplored, (1) because this sudden reversal of a former judgment, which had been maturely considered after full argument, will weaken popular respect for all decisions of the Court, including this last one; (2) because the value of a judgment does not depend on the number of judges who concur in it—judges being weighed, not counted, and because the rehearing of a cause in consequence of the number of judges having been increased is peculiarly, and for obvious reasons, objectionable, where the number is dependent on the will of the very body whose acts the Court has to review, and which in this very case it is reviewing; and (3) because the judges who have been added to the bench since the former decision are men who were at the bar when that decision was rendered, and were interested professionally and personally in having a different decision. We do not mean to insinuate that this has affected their judgment, but we do say that it is not enough for a judge to be pure; he must be likewise above suspicion; that is, he must not only be honest, but must give no man any reason for thinking him otherwise than honest.

It is rumored that the High Commission has completed its work, and provided machinery of some kind—what kind no outsider seems yet to know—for the settlement of all the outstanding controversies between Great Britain and the United States, viz., the *Alabama* claims, the fisheries, the San Juan boundary, and the British claim for damages sustained by British subjects during the war. If it be true that they are all to be included in one treaty, it must be regarded as unfortunate, inasmuch as some are much harder to settle than others. It seems a pity to provide that if all cannot be settled, none shall be. What will be the fate of the treaty before the Senate, it is useless to try to predict. There are several powerful influences adverse to any settlement at all. One is sheer hostility to England, and desire to have her on the hip somehow; another is the extravagance of the expectations which have been excited as to the sort of satisfaction which America ought to exact, and England ought to give, in the *Alabama* matter, but which there is no chance of any treaty meeting; another is the extreme lowness of the figure which the *Alabama* damages reach when put down in dollars and cents compared to what the popular mind fancies them to be; and, still more, the fact that the money will nearly all go to insurance companies, some of which are English. In fact, it will be very difficult for Mr. Sumner, for instance, to vote for any plan the Commission is likely to have to offer without palpable loss of dignity; if he does, it will bear a little too strong a resemblance to the course of the gentleman who asked the President to appoint him to the Paris mission, but contented himself finally with a suit of old clothes. Still, it is not well to take too despondent a view of the matter. It is said, however, that he has been made acquainted with what has been done, and approves. The United States has been well represented in the negotiation, and it is not likely that the American Commissioners have made any concession which is not capable of vigorous and effective defence before the American public. We have only to repeat the expression of our belief that if it can be shown that differences so grave between two such nations can be settled in this way, the gain to peace and civilization will be worth double their whole shipping, and more, as it will make war hereafter impossible.

The Democratic party has long been accused of want of principle, but it would seem, if we may judge from the address just issued by the Democratic members of the House and Senate, as if their greatest want just now was want of brains. No feebleness state paper has made its appearance in the United States for some time. They might, if they had a man of even fair literary or dialectical skill amongst them, have made out a pretty strong case against the Republican party on various grounds, but its errors have apparently been of no use to them whatever. They charge it, in the style of a third-rate editorial article in a party organ, with the unprecedented multiplication of offices; the subordination of "moral worth" (this, it must be confessed, is tolerably barefaced) to "dishonorable compliance" in the selection of officers; with dishonesty in the collection of the revenue; with the unnecessary retention of taxation; with causing the shipping interest to "languish"; with "prostrating" the agriculturists by protective duties; with waste in the disposal of the public lands; with having conferred despotic powers on the Executive, and overthrown local self-government; with having done everything a "malicious ingenuity" could suggest to "irritate" the people of the Southern and Middle States, and having accompanied hostile legislation by no word of reconciliation. They warn their constituents not to aid the Radical partisans in stirring up "strife in the land," and accuse the party in power of having spent in the five years following the war, for ordinary purposes, a sum within \$200,000,000 of the aggregate amount spent for the same purposes, in war and peace, during the seventy-one years preceding June, 1861—a curiously fallacious statement, which has not even the merit of ingenuity.

The framers of the address might have done much for constitutional government, and, above all, for local self-government, by a few words of remonstrance and warning addressed to their friends at the South on the subject of Ku-klux operations, but not a syllable of this kind does it contain. How necessary something of the kind is has been strikingly proved by a remarkable letter—in fact, the most remarkable piece of evidence about the condition of the South we have seen of late—which appeared in the *Tribune* on Tuesday, from a Mr. Luce, who went down to North Carolina to farm and establish iron-works—and, in short, appears to have been exactly the kind of Northern immigrant the South wants and is constantly clamoring for. He abstained from all meddling in politics, went diligently to work to develop the resources of the country; but, being in thinly-settled region, opened a church on his land, and got an Episcopal minister—an ex-Confederate officer, by-the-way—to officiate in it, and set up a Sunday-school for negroes, but carefully excluded politics or anything relating to it from the course of instruction. The school was attended with great eagerness, and all going well, when Ku-kluxing began in every direction around him. The negroes were flogged and shot at. He appealed to the leading Democrats in the neighborhood, and they refused to do anything for him, and he was finally warned that he would be hanged if he persisted in teaching negroes, and his family were so terrified that he had to shut up his church and Sunday-school.

Coming North on business, "the neighbors" put their heads together in his absence, and had him adjudged an absconding debtor, without any proper foundation in fact, and his goods and works seized. Thus ended an industrial enterprise of great promise, and of just the kind the South wants, the inhabitants of the district in which it was started showing themselves little better than a parcel of howling barbarians. Some of us here think this sort of disease can be cured by martial law, and that when the President issues his proclamation declaring the district in rebellion, and sends down soldiers, the people will rapidly begin to love education, justice, equality, and negroes, and to help to build up churches and schools. We suppose this delusion must run its course; but that we should have to wait for it to do so is sad enough. The cure for it all is education and experience of the material misery that comes from Ku-kluxery. A vote of money by Congress to enable all persons who

were desirous of doing so to quit disturbed districts and settle elsewhere, would, we have no doubt, do more to pacify the South than an army of 100,000 men, and if Federal money is going to be spent in this work of pacification, it is in some such way it ought to be spent. It is in this way—that is, by the loss of population and money through local disorders—that the South must learn wisdom.

[Miss Hosmer, the sculptor, has written a singularly ill-judged and angry letter to the *Tribune* in defence of Miss Vinnie Ream, insinuating that the attack on Miss Ream and her statue are due to mean male spite and jealousy. The *Tribune* replies that "every sculptor of repute" condemns the statue, which may or may not be true, but does not affect the most important question. Miss Ream is not the first sculptor who has made a bad statue—even sculptors of repute have done so. The scandal and shame of this case are that Congress, having to erect a monument in the National Capital to one of the two most famous Americans—the one perhaps whose name is most widely known and will be longest remembered—passed by a dozen American sculptors of well-earned eminence, and gave the work to a pretty girl, who wanted to be a sculptor, but had never made a statue at all, and of whose ability nobody could tell much if anything.

Domestic trade continues moderately active in dry goods and groceries, but quiet and unsatisfactory in most other branches. The decline in prices of raw materials and in wages has, however, caused a revival in some of our exports of manufactured goods, and in several branches manufacturers are employed on foreign orders, a circumstance unknown for some years past. The cotton receipts continue on a liberal scale, and prices are about steady under large export orders and great strength in the Liverpool market, in spite of the heavy stocks. Breadstuffs and meats are both lower, the former yielding gradually under the prospect of large receipts from the interior, where heavy stores are accumulated, and of bountiful crops this season, which so far promise exceedingly well—the latter falling considerably, owing to the breaking-up of a great speculative movement in this city, which has held the price unnaturally high ever since the new crop came in. Fresh meat keeps cheap, and butter and cheese have likewise again declined, though city consumers scarcely as yet get the full benefit, owing to the great scarcity of really good dairy products of every description. There is no decided change in the situation of the coal region. Many of the iron furnaces have gone out of blast, and the iron men have held three or four meetings to agree upon an advanced scale of prices; but the limited demand helps them but little.

Financial affairs are marked by continued excitement among the professional habitués of Wall Street, where the cliques have again put up the prices of all leading stocks from two to five per cent. without rhyme or reason, and without attracting the large outside public, to whom they hoped to sell. Money continues extremely easy. Greenbacks are coming in from all quarters where dull business renders them useless, and general inflation is the order of the day. But neither the Treasury influence nor the reckless bank management seems to affect the ordinary course of the majority of people, who pursue their legitimate trades without being led away as during past years. Erie has furnished another brief excitement by the announcement, forced from them by the disclosures now going on before the Master in Chancery, that they have issued and sold three millions of new stock without giving the previous thirty-day notice required by the New York Stock Exchange, which should deprive them of the right to have their stock dealt in. But the Exchange, for some mysterious reason, has not yet stricken Erie from the list. The funding proceeds by dreary dribbles. The specie exports to Europe have been large.

The only recent occurrence of moment in the French civil war is the fight at Asnières, April 18. At that place, situated on the left



bank of the Seine, in the Gennevilliers peninsula, half-way between the forts of St. Denis and Mont Valérien, the insurgents had erected considerable defensive works, consisting chiefly of huge barricades armed with mitrailleuses. These works were destined mainly to cover the various approaches to the bridge over the Seine, which they held. Having no cavalry, however, the insurgents were unable to reconnoitre, and ignorant of the fact that MacMahon's troops had erected heavy batteries against them at Gennevilliers and Colombes, north and north-west of Asnières. These opened suddenly a terrible fire upon their right flank and front, while two attacking columns advanced against their positions. The Parisians answered the cross-fire only by one volley from their mitrailleuses, and soon began a hasty retreat across the Seine. Their commander, Dombrowski, sent for reinforcements, and vigorously renewed the contest, leading a desperate assault in person, but in vain. They were forced from their positions on the left bank, with heavy loss. It appears, however, that the Versailles troops did not occupy the village of Asnières, but entrenched themselves west of it, on the railroad leading to Colombes, thus securing their left flank in their operations at Neuilly, which, on the 20th, became the scene of an obstinate fight, without decisive results. The insurgents continue to hold their barricades in front of the Maillot Gate, in spite of the shells from Mont Valérien, but the Versailles troops are in possession of both banks of the Seine from Château Becon to Suresnes. Further south, cannonading alone seems to be the order of the day.

From all before us it seems clear that the forces of the Versailles Government, though making but very slow headway, have had the advantage in almost all the conflicts with the insurgents since the beginning of hostilities. Cluseret, however, has his official say to the contrary about every single fight, and, to hear him, nothing can be more admirable than the behavior of the insurgent National Guards under fire. But this the insurgent National Guards themselves have excellent reasons to doubt, and somehow they have also begun to doubt the admirable qualities of their improvised Minister of War, Cluseret, himself. He appears to them rather slow in organizing victory, and the suspicion has arisen that his doings and omissions are prompted by a desire to make himself dictator—a dignity for which there is, in Paris, no lack of candidates, we presume. The Montmartre battalions of the National Guard, we are told, have, besides, their separate grievances; they complain of excessive work and defective arms, and of encroachments on the part of the Belleville battalions. Dissatisfaction is rapidly becoming general within the domain of the Commune. The late partial elections have disclosed this fact beyond doubt. Disgusted with their result, the great Félix Pyat threatens to resign. Tolain, on the other hand, is rejected by the Internationals as a "traitor to the working-classes." And against this general dissatisfaction even the new court-martial, "with summary powers," is unable to prevail. We therefore notice a considerable falling off of revolutionary pluck in the doings of the Commune. Churches have been allowed to be reopened and suppressed journals to reappear; imprisoned curés have been released, and funds robbed from the gas company restored with an apology—reactionary proceedings unworthy of "Paris once more laboring and suffering for the regeneration of France."

The spirit of revolution thus waxing milder from day to day—the increasing scarcity of provisions may have something to do with it—Paris, we hear, is inclined to treat with "the assassins of Versailles" on the following basis: "The maintenance of the Republic; the granting of communal rights to Paris and other cities, and the autonomy of the National Guards; the dissolution of the Assembly, and the election of a National Communal Representative Assembly in its stead; the formation of *ad interim* governments for Paris and Versailles," etc. And it is not unlikely that even more modest terms would now be acceptable to the somewhat tired and hungry followers of Blanqui, Ranc, Grousset, Eudes, Cluseret, and Co., though possibly not to those eminently patriotic and unselfish leaders themselves.

Thiers, however, obstinately refuses to recognize the Commune as an authority to treat with, though declaring that his generals had power to grant a military truce whenever it should become necessary. According to a late report, a suspension of hostilities has actually been arranged at Neuilly, but only for a transient purpose. Hostile preparations continue to be made on both sides, the Versailles troops steadily receiving reinforcements from the provinces, and the insurgents augmenting and strengthening their barricades and batteries both within and without the *enceinte*. The Germans, who still occupy the forts north and east of Paris, show little disposition to favor the insurgents; but they are also inflexible in demanding the strictest execution of the preliminaries, which delays both the definitive conclusion of peace and the return of the French captives from Germany. Marshal Canrobert has joined MacMahon. General Ducrot has resigned, and Félix Douai takes his place.

The affairs of the Catholic Church seem to be reaching something very like a crisis in Germany, where the Ultramontanists are beginning to show themselves as a distinct political party, mustering about sixty strong in the Imperial Reichstag, and making the duty of the Empire to interfere in Italy for the restoration of the Pope the cardinal article in their creed. On this point they divided the chamber in voting the address in reply to the Emperor's speech. They are, however, by no means an influential body, and their following out-of-doors is small, and mostly confined to Eastern Prussia and Bavaria. They were beaten on various grounds, but most markedly on the ground that the creation of the Empire, and the bloody war which had preceded it, were distinct and solemn declarations of the duty and expediency of non-intervention in the affairs of other states. Another striking sign of the times is a division among the Poles on the Papal question, an anti-Papal party having sprung up among them at last, and the lower clergy in Bohemia are said to be rapidly going into opposition to the Papacy also under the pressure of the National Czech movement.

The most exciting incident in German politics, however, and indeed we may say in European politics (for the civil war in France has lost most of its political interest), is the attitude taken up by Dr. Dollinger, the famous Catholic theologian—we might say the greatest living Catholic theologian and scholar—towards the Pope. The latter has called on him to submit himself to the decisions of the late Council, and particularly to that touching Papal infallibility. This Dollinger has, in a long and able, and even threatening, letter flatly refused to do, both as Christian, theologian, historian, and citizen, and he insists on being summoned before a council of German bishops—which there is talk of convening at Fulda—or before a conference of theologians at Munich, where he offers to prove that the doctrine of infallibility is opposed to the teachings of the Scriptures, and to the first thousand years of Christian tradition, and to have been introduced into the church by shameless fraud. He declares, moreover, that the doctrines which are now put forth with regard to the relations of church and state would, if an attempt were made to apply them to the new German Empire, either prove fatal to religion or to society, and he refuses to accept or advocate them. The Council of Bishops is certainly to meet, and is to take into consideration the coercive measures proper to be adopted against laymen and priests refusing to acknowledge the Pope's infallibility; the relations of the church and the new empire; the convocation of a synod composed of the Austrian, Hungarian, and Polish bishops next fall, and the establishment of a new Catholic university at Fulda. It is already freely predicted that this council will resemble the famous Diet of Worms in more ways than one. Dr. Dollinger, we are sorry to say, is over seventy years old, but he has plenty of vitality, and will probably live to fight this fight out. The commencement of it is one more illustration of the wonderful way in which Germany is becoming the scene in which some of the most interesting problems of European government, and society are to be studied, if not solved.

## POLICE DUTY.

THE Force Bill has been passed, and has received the President's signature, and is now a law, and, though it has undergone some modifications since we discussed it in detail last week, its most objectionable features have been retained, and particularly that which enables the President to suspend the habeas corpus and declare martial law whenever the occasion seems to him to call for it. The course of a considerable portion of the Republican press with regard to it has been so discreditable, and the readiness of the public—owing to the general confidence that the powers with which it arms the President will not be abused—to let it pass without protest is so widespread, that we cannot help calling attention once more to one or two of the remote dangers with which this legislation threatens us; and it will be seen that they constitute reasons of the strongest kind why the act should be repealed by the Republican majority as soon as Congress meets.

On the 13th of February, 1866, the Joint Committee on Reconstruction reported through Mr. Bingham the following amendment to the Constitution:

"ARTICLE —. The Congress shall have power to make all laws which shall be necessary and proper to secure to the citizens of each State all the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States; and to all persons in the several States equal protection in the rights of life, liberty, and property."

If this had been adopted and ratified, it would have afforded justification for that portion of the Force Act which charges the General Government with the policing of the States, though not that portion which makes the President a dictator. But it was not adopted. It was found impossible to get Congress to recommend such a sweeping change in the Constitution, and the consideration of it was postponed indefinitely a fortnight later by 110 to 37. A month afterwards the present Fourteenth Amendment was reported, and for the above section the following was substituted:

"No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

This, it will be seen, is a prohibition imposed on the States with regard to a certain kind of legislation, and the effect of it simply, as we pointed out last week, is to make all such legislation null and void, and empower all persons aggrieved by it to appeal to the courts to have it set aside. The majority in Congress has, however, actually gone to work and legislated as if the amendment which was rejected had been adopted and ratified, and as if the powers of police which the Constitution reserves to the States had been transferred to the General Government, although it had previously, by the Civil Rights Act of 1866 and the Enforcement Act of May, 1870, as amended by the act of February, 1871, exercised all the power of legislation for the enforcement of the new amendments which anybody until now ever claimed or pretended that it possessed.

We freely concede that General Grant is not the man to abuse his dictatorship. We have no doubt that when he uses it he will use it honestly for the protection of life and property, but we refuse to treat this as a serious argument in defence of such a measure. It is one of the stock arguments by which imperialism justifies itself, and ought never to be heard issuing from the mouth of an American. That so many Americans should use it shows how rapidly people have been losing hold, under the influence of the excitement of the last few years, of the principles on the supremacy of which free government has always and everywhere depended, and, it is safe to presume, will always and everywhere depend. We acknowledge, too, that it sounds well to talk of "putting forth the whole power of the Government to protect the downtrodden and oppressed," and that if the whole power of the Government is put forth there will, as long as it is put forth, probably be some diminution of Ku-kluxing at the South. But the danger is, that if we do this long enough to bring the negroes and Unionists of the South any real relief, we shall destroy completely in the minds of the people of the Southern States all sense of responsibility for the local preservation of order, and this once destroyed, centralization becomes a matter of necessity. We ought not to forget that it is

not to the goodness of the laws that the success of republican institutions on this continent has been due, *but to the habits of the people*, and notably to the habit which every man has of looking on the work of local police as his personal affair. This is the distinctive feature of American society. It is in a less degree a distinctive feature of English society, and the result of it is that government in America and England is free and successful, while government in France and Spain and Germany and South America is either not free or not successful. The contrivance by which the framers of the Constitution sought to preserve this habit, and at the same time build up a great central authority, was, perhaps, one of the happiest displays of the application of wisdom and experience to the work of politics ever witnessed. The present attempt, therefore, to undo their work, and destroy, root and branch, what they did all they could to preserve and foster, must be pronounced one of the greatest pieces of self-stultification ever witnessed. It makes all the difference between the success and failure of free institutions, whether, when my house is robbed or my life attempted, I and my neighbors join the sheriff to hunt down the criminal, or whether we shut our doors, and go about our business, and wait for the Minister of the Interior to send gendarmes and a prefect to work the case up. Even the feeling which sends men—as it often does at the West—disguised to the jail when there seems likely to be failure of justice, take off a thief or murderer and hang him up, is one which no wise man would weaken. It contains—wild, and reckless, and lawless as it is—the foundation on which alone any sure and lasting combination of law and order must rest. Things can never in any community go far wrong as long as the men of each county and each State say and think, "It is our business to see that the high-roads in this region are safe, that men sleep securely in their houses, and go tranquilly about their lawful affairs; that the people's writs run freely, and that the course of justice is not hindered." Destroy this way of talking and thinking, and teach men to look to Washington or any other capital for order and safety, and you will, under favorable circumstances, and as the best you can expect, get a government like that of France; under unfavorable circumstances, such as a division of population into two races and the prevalence of turbulent habits, you may expect a government like that of Mexico; and this, too, is the best you need expect.

But what if the people of the locality will not preserve order, and if a large proportion of the population, and that the most powerful and energetic, are actually engaged in the commission or encouragement of acts of violence against person or property? We answer, that if we found this to be the state of things, and if we had made up our minds, as the majority in Congress seems to have done, that we would sacrifice anything, even our liberty or the supremacy of the laws, in order to put an immediate stop to it, and were ready to appoint a dictator with full power to deal with it as he thought proper, as the majority in Congress has done, we should, without hesitation and in full confidence in the principle on which the American Government has thus far been administered, send for the Ku-klux and other malcontents, and hand the government of the disturbed State over to them bodily. If immediate peace and quiet be all we want—and we are determined to have them at any cost—this is the thing to do, and it is the only thing to do which will give us what we seek without fatally weakening the habit of self-government. For to all its other defects, the plan now resolved upon adds the capital one of being certain to fail. We venture to assert that not a man of those who voted for it believes in his heart that the expiration of this outrageous act will leave the colored people of the South one whit better off than it found them.

There is one other consideration to which it is impossible to do full justice in an article like this, but which few thinking men need to have discussed at length. Anybody who reads attentively the ablest and most influential of the papers which zealously support the Republican party—say the *New York Tribune* and *Times* and *Harper's Weekly*—will find that they justify their support largely by pointing out the dreadful consequences which would probably result from the accession of the Democrats to power. Judging from all one can see and hear, their apprehensions are well founded. We know of nothing



in the sayings or doings of the Democratic party to make its supremacy wear any other appearance than that of a great misfortune to the nation. The papers we have mentioned, above all things, denounce it for its unscrupulousness, its indifference to constitutional obligations, and its close alliance with or patronage of the worst and most dangerous elements in American society. But, then, they acknowledge, too, that its accession to power is by no means a very improbable contingency. The South is Democratic, and becomes daily more so; there is a very powerful Democratic vote in nearly all the Northern States, except Massachusetts and Iowa. The liquor interest, and that now most portentous of all the "interests" which threaten the basis of American society and government—the Catholic interest—and in this State the criminal and corrupt interest, look to the Democratic party as the one which is to give them what they want, and swell its ranks every day. In the meantime, the Republican party grows sensibly weaker under the decline in importance of the questions on which it rose into power, and under the steady rise of others in which its members are greatly and increasingly divided. Under these circumstances, the disaster with which Republican journals are constantly threatening us, and to avert which they are incessantly beseeching us to pardon the faults and shortcomings of the party, may any day overtake us. No man can tell how soon he may see a Democratic majority in Congress, and a Democratic President in the White House, and Tweed and Sweeny installed in Washington as "the power behind the throne." Now, when this comes to pass, what shall we have between us and all we most dread but the restrictions of the Constitution and the popular reverence for it and for the courts which interpret and enforce it? What is to prevent the nullification of the reconstruction legislation, the relegation of the negroes to serfdom, the repudiation of the public debt, the appropriation of money for church endowments, and the suppression of obnoxious minorities by military force, except the general acquiescence in and general fidelity to the principle that the Constitution is something higher than the will of the majority for the time being—something not only more sacred, but more valuable, than the idea of any man or body of men of abstract justice or truth or humanity? Is it not, with this prospect looming up, be it never so remotely, little short of madness to go to work to forge weapons which, harmless or useful as they may be in the hands of Grant, Blair or Sweeny or Wood might yet wield; to cultivate for the gratification of vague metaphysical notions about the powers and duties of government that disregard of contracts and conventions, and decisions and conventional obligations, which has thus far done more than all else to make good governments rare and short-lived?

#### WHAT WINANS'S REPLY OUGHT TO HAVE BEEN.

##### "DEAR BRETHREN INSIDE POLITICS:

"I was at first greatly surprised by the show of indignation made by you over my recent action in the Assembly. I acknowledge that I have been bought up by Tweed at a pretty good price, and that my conduct, on the whole, has in this matter been, judged by the standard in use among some people, very disgraceful. But then I did not, from what I know of you, expect *you* to take a severe view of it. You are practical men; I am a practical man; and you must, therefore, feel that it is rather funny to have you calling me, as you have been doing, 'a traitor, perjurer, and rogue,' 'a stench in the nostrils of all honest men,' 'a shameless scoundrel,' 'a poor, small-souled scoundrel,' 'a poor wretch,' 'a contemptible political traitor,' 'a prime scamp'; and to say of me, as you have been saying, that 'I shall be spurned from all decent association'; that, 'like Cain, I shall be a wanderer on the face of the earth'; and that, 'unless I am as cowardly as I am base, I will go out and hang myself'; that 'my descendants will curse my memory'; that, 'in that delightful fraternity inaugurated by Judas Iscariot, and in which figure Mr. Benedict Arnold and other honored gentlemen who have sold themselves body and breeches for pieces of silver, I shall find congenial companionship'; that 'my best plan is to cross the seas and live in exile'; that 'nothing of a political nature has so stunned the country since the dark days of the Revolutionary War as my base betrayal of the highest interests of the State.' I was, too,

rather startled to hear from one of you that, when hereafter I go to a hotel, and write down 'my infamous name' in the book, 'the gentlemanly clerk will turn pale with scorn as he assigns me a room, and that a crowd will instantly gather round to gaze at me,' and that 'if I ever enter a house of worship, the whole congregation will gaze at me with horror, and in Christian pity will mumble a prayer in my behalf.' When I first read all this I was disposed to get mad over it; but I took it over to Bill Tweed, and we went through it together, and it gave us a good laugh, I assure you; for Bill was certain you were joking, and I am now persuaded myself that you were; but lest the public at large should not see the point, he advised me to put down on paper two or three of the reasons why I don't care what you say about me, and why your abuse of me sounds very ludicrous to those who know you as well as I do.

"In the first place, brethren, you never expected me to be incorruptible; and your pretending to be as much shocked and astonished by it as the disciples were by the treachery of Judas Iscariot is—forgive me the expression—very impudent on your part. You know very well that I have been for many years, and still am, an employee of the Erie Railroad, and that I was elected last year to my place in the Legislature by the influence of the road. You know, too, that when the present Erie managers allow one of their men to go to the Legislature, and do everything they can to get him returned, it is not with the view of having him set the other members an example of probity, or pass his time in prayer and meditation. You had, in fact, every reason for believing that I went to the Legislature to help out their schemes, and that I would help them out whenever it was necessary, at whatever cost; so that your now pretending that you thought me a rock of integrity, though a joke, is too much of a practical joke to be really good. If you were all to gather round Satan, and weep and wail because you had found him cut in a lie, you might think it good sport; but he would certainly consider it insulting, and resent it. I find, also, the immense importance you pretend to attach to my calling myself a Republican as an aggravation of my offence, a little too ridiculous for my taste. The fuss you are making is all based on the theory that Republicans are all incorruptible, and that when a Republican member of the Legislature takes a bribe, it is like the fall of an angel or of an apostle.

"The fact is, brethren, that if, the day before Jim Irving hit Weed in the face, you had been asked how many members there were in the Assembly who would not take a bribe, there is not one of you who would have put the number at more than ten, all told; nevertheless, you barefacedly pretended to believe that the whole sixty-five who signed the pledge to vote against Tweed's bills could in no way be induced to give way—whereas not one of you expected them all to hold out, and each of you was wondering which of them would have the pluck to surrender first and claim the money.

"You are well aware that the Republican members of the Legislature have for years past been as corrupt as any; and that, without this, the Tammany Ring could never have got possession of the State as it has done; all of which makes your horror over me very clever, but not genuine. Your display of it is made all the more comical by the fact that a large proportion of the active members of the party in New York city are, and have long been, as I am now, in the pay of the Tammany Ring, and are well known in all your ward meetings, caucuses, and conventions as 'Tammany Republicans,' and work steadily for Tammany interests. Your wondering over me, therefore, as if I was an ornithorhynchus, or a dodo, is simply absurd. You are as familiar with my kind of politician as you are with the common domestic turkey or goose of the barn-yard. Considering the kind of people, too, the hotel clerks assign rooms to without growing pale, and the kind of people church members take the communion with, I doubt very much whether my appearance in hotels and churches will make such a sensation as you are pleased to predict.

"Shall I now tell you plainly why I do not care two straws for your abuse of me, and why I even enjoy it? It is that you have no penalties left in your possession for the punishment of such offences as mine, and that you are estopped by your own acts from treating me as a really bad or dishonored man. You have, brethren, for some years

back, been trying to manage the party on the theory that a person may be a very estimable politician and yet a very great scoundrel. You have, consequently, elevated to high places and honors men whose lives have been stained by every description of infamy and vice, whose word no man believes, and the mention of whose honor would excite laughter wherever they are known. You have done this simply because, after a long career of rascality, begun in early youth, and protracted to the decline of life, they joined you when you became the winning side, and there was plainly more to be made by supporting you than by opposing you. Your leading journals, who are now pouring vituperation on me, never speak of these men, I am glad to say, except in terms of respect, and thus they render their own treatment of me perfectly harmless. By suspending the ordinary laws of morality, and setting aside the ordinary tests of character in the interests of the party, you have given me, and the like of me, just the license I need. If it makes no difference what I have done, or what I do, provided I am now 'sound,' I have all the rope I want. You never can get people to put a breach of party allegiance on the same level with theft or arson; and, if this is the worst offence I can commit, I shall speedily get over it, no matter what you say. You cannot maintain that I have damaged my moral character very seriously, because you have again and again ruled that, no matter how much a man may have lied, cheated, or stolen, he can wipe out his past, and become as good and respectable as anybody any day he pleases. Consequently, I shall be a rascal as long as Tweed, Fisk, and Gould wish me to be so; as soon as convenient I shall become suddenly good again, and take up 'a cause,' and you will have to receive me once more into regular standing. You cannot attempt to punish me more severely for a single slip, which you declare took you by surprise, than you have punished others for twenty or thirty years of solid villany. The names you call me do not affect me much, because you have bestowed them from time to time on some of the best men in the country. Newspaper 'Judases' are now as plenty as blackberries, and such of them as I happen to know, look fat, hearty, and comfortable, and seem to like being 'Judases,' and not to fear even a temporary occupancy of the conspicuous position which I now fill, of the Greatest Criminal of the Age."

#### OUR NATIONAL WEALTH AS REVEALED BY THE CENSUS.

THE Census Bureau has so far progressed with its labors as to be able to present us with a concrete statement of the total wealth of the nation, as assessed for purposes of taxation. The figures do not give the true value of the property, as estimated by the census-takers, but they give the sum total of the valuation, as obtained from the local tax assessors of every State, upon which all State taxes are assessed. It may seem at first sight that figures coming from such a source are not of a highly trustworthy character. Indeed, we know that the assessments are very defective from the ignorance of the officials, or from their carelessness. But they are, nevertheless, of the greatest importance. Based as they are upon actual assessments upon which the payment of money depends, open as they are to correction from all injured parties, including, as they do, the whole tax-paying portion of the people, compared with whose vast numbers the intentional cases of false valuation must come to be very insignificant—these tax returns are fully as reliable as, if not far more reliable than, the loose and inconclusive returns from volunteer statements, or valuations obtained by a host of ignorant and, perhaps, incompetent census subordinates. Making allowance for the invariable practice of assessing property for tax purposes at much less than its market value, an undervaluation which is recognized and established by universal custom, if not by law, these tax returns are considered by competent statisticians far more valuable for ascertaining the wealth of the people than those of the census. But lest exception be taken to this position, which is also denied by many, we propose, in examining the figures just published, to confine ourselves, in all comparisons, to figures obtained from the same source, so that all may be alike affected by the same objection, and the value of the comparison not invalidated.

According to these returns, the total value of property of every de-

scription in the United States in 1870, with certain exceptions to be referred to hereafter, was, in round numbers, \$13,000,000,000, against \$10,500,000,000 in 1860, showing an increase in value of \$2,500,000,000, or less than twenty-five per cent. during the ten years. If we compare this increase with that of the previous decade, we find that, from 1850 to 1860, the increase was from \$6,000,000,000 to \$10,500,000,000, an increase of \$4,500,000,000, or precisely seventy-five per cent. In other words, the increase in the previous decade was precisely three times as great as during the last. Prior to 1860 we were getting rich three times as fast as since 1860.

Prior to 1860 we had no debt of any consequence. We now owe, in round numbers, \$2,500,000,000. If we deduct what we owe from what we possess, we find that our net possessions are about the same in 1870 as they were in 1860, in other words, that all the people in the country together have no more wealth in 1870 than they had in 1860. But as the number of people in the country has increased during that period from 30,000,000 to 40,000,000, there are now 40,000,000 of people who own no more property to-day than 30,000,000 of people owned ten years ago; in other words, the average wealth of each inhabitant of the United States is to-day twenty-five per cent. less than it was ten years ago.

However much we might be tempted to let these results stand as confirmation of all the arguments for years urged by the *Nation* in refutation of the absurd belief that we were rapidly growing rich on waste, and extravagance, and destruction, we are, nevertheless, obliged to point out that they are not necessarily conclusive as to the condition of the whole country. Although it is impossible for any part of it to be impoverished without all other parts being more or less affected in a similar manner, yet there is a nominal impoverishment which directly affects the owner without diminishing the real wealth of the country. In 1860, slaves were counted as property. Valuing five millions of slaves at an average price of \$300, we could at once account for an apparent loss of 1,500 millions of dollars by the act of emancipation. Besides, the loss of the slaves rendered temporarily valueless, or at least much less valuable, great plantations and other tracts of land, which had heretofore constituted a great part of the wealth of some of the Southern States. And in addition, a large part of the loss and destruction of the war of rebellion fell most directly upon the seceding States themselves. If we, therefore, examine separately all the so-called Slave States, excluding Missouri, which was a slave State only in name, and excluding Alabama and Texas, the figures for which two latter are omitted throughout the returns, but including Virginia and West Virginia, we find that the wealth of the nine leading Southern States has actually decreased more than 1,800 millions of dollars during the decade. The South has lost in wealth; the North, East, and West have made not only the entire apparent gain, but have gained enough besides to make up the Southern loss. Separating the two sections, we say that the South has largely decreased in wealth, nearly fifty per cent., while the rest of the country has increased from 6,500 millions in 1860 to 10,800 millions in 1870, an increase of nearly 68 per cent. It will be observed that even this rate of increase falls materially behind that of the previous decade, even when leaving the debt out of consideration. Taking the debt into account, we arrive at the conclusion that the South has lost largely in wealth, while the rest of the country has increased about thirty per cent. during the decade, against an increase of seventy-five per cent. during the previous decade. This is the most favorable result to be deduced from the figures submitted by the Census Bureau.

There are some other results of interest to be derived from these statistics. The assessments separate real estate from all other kinds of property. Heretofore the increase in the wealth of the country has been far largest in the kind of property called personal, which includes railroads, bank and insurance stocks, merchandise, machinery, furniture, cattle, crops, agricultural implements, everything, in short, except the land and the buildings on it; everything that contributes most largely to the production of wealth, is the best evidence of wealth, and constitutes the truest measure of our civilization. In personal property, the increase during the last decade was ninety-five per cent. During the present decade there has been a positive decrease.



But if, remembering that the slaves were formerly counted as personal property, and that it is on this kind of property, too, that the destruction of war generally falls, we compare the position of the non-slaveholding States with that of ten years ago, we find that here personal property in these has increased about forty-seven per cent., against a corresponding increase of ninety-five per cent., or almost double, for the previous ten years. The increase in the amount and value of everything that contributes to the comfort, the well-being, the amenities, and the progress of life, has been just one-half as rapid as during the previous decade. But when we remember that real estate now contributes nothing whatever directly to the expenses of the General Government, or to the payment of interest and principal of the public debt, that, on the contrary, all United States taxes are borne by the consumers or employers of personal property, chiefly in proportion to the personal property so employed, and that the total assessed value of the entire personal property of the country is not equal to twice the amount of the national debt, it must be apparent that the increase in the personal property is not sufficient to affect the national debt.

The real estate valuation of the ten years preceding 1860 increased sixty-four per cent. at the time when the country was truly prosperous, and when personal property increased ninety-five per cent. During the ten years following 1860, when war has destroyed a large amount of wealth, and when personal property has increased only forty-seven per cent., we yet find that real estate has increased seventy-five per cent., or actually eleven per cent. more than during the previous decade. That there cannot be any true foundation for this advance in the value of real estate in a country where territory is unlimited, in a time when a large section of the country has been sunk for years in ruin, and when the true wealth of a country, its personal property, is increasing so slowly, if at all, must be evident to every one who attentively examines the subject. The value of real estate is measured almost exclusively by the prosperity of the community, all theories to the contrary notwithstanding, and for real estate to advance largely while general prosperity is nearly stationary is possible only as a result of gigantic speculation based upon widespread delusion.

The true condition of the country, as shown by the assessment statistics just published by the Census Bureau, is simply this: The progress in wealth of the entire country is not equal to the increase in the national debt, without counting the enormously increased debts of States, counties, and towns. The former slaveholding States have very materially declined in wealth. The rest of the country has advanced in wealth beyond the accumulation of the debt, about one-third as much as in the previous decade; but even this advance is chiefly due to the fictitious rise in the prices of real estate due to speculation.

#### THE PROSPECTIVE RATE OF INTEREST THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES FOR THE NEXT QUARTER OF A CENTURY.

NORWICH, April 20, 1871.

THE average rate of interest which during the next quarter of a century may be expected to prevail throughout the United States for money loaned on varying securities, is a question of no little importance to every business man, Government financier, or corporation—banks, railroad and insurance companies especially—contemplating money engagements in which the future enters as an essential element; inasmuch as the condition of all business, at all times and places, hinges upon the price or worth of capital, or its representative, money, as much as upon any other one contingency. Having recently given some thought to the question as above stated, and thinking that the facts and conclusions arrived at may be worthy of the attention of your readers and the public, I herewith submit the same for consideration.

Writers on politico-economic science are generally agreed that the principles which govern and determine the rate of interest—or, according to the common acceptance of the term, the price at which money can be hired—are, in the main, three: 1st, the *productiveness of labor in the community where it is employed*; 2d, the *supply and demand of capital*; 3d, the *safety or hazard of the capital when loaned*; and to these Mr. Amasa Walker, a recognized authority on these politico-economic subjects, adds a fourth, viz.: *The soundness of the currency*.

If these assumptions are correct, it is obvious that the answer to the

question as to the future rate of interest in the United States must be sought in the application of the principles, as above stated, to the material and social condition of the country; and with this view, it is proposed to ask attention to such an application somewhat in detail:

1st. *Productiveness of Labor in the community where it is employed.* Capital, or its representative, money—which commands all other forms of capital—is essential to labor in the work of production. In fact, the productive power of labor could be carried but a very little way without capital; and, therefore, in every civilized community the two work together, or in partnership, and divide the profits from such conjoined effort between them. The standard according to which such division takes place is a varying one; but it is clear that the greater the profit accruing to labor, the greater will be the amount which it can afford to pay to capital for its use, and generally the greater the amount of capital which it will both desire and be able to use. Now, in the United States the productiveness of labor, or the result of the industry of the people, is greater than in any other country, and consequently capital here obtains its largest reward or rate of interest; while in other countries, like France, Germany, and Belgium, where the returns of labor are small, interest is always comparatively low. Thus, the agriculturist of Europe who borrows at five per cent. is well content if the products of his land and labor afford him a living, and sufficient beside to make good waste and pay the hire of his capital; but in the United States, on the contrary, the agriculturist who pays ten or, as sometimes the case, twenty per cent. for his capital, not unfrequently pays off all his indebtedness with the proceeds of a single crop, leaving the land and its improvements to represent the profit resulting from his labor and the use of capital borrowed at what may seem an excessive, but which in reality proves to be a comparatively cheap, rate of interest. The question of moment under this head, then, is, How long will the natural resources of the country continue to so abundantly supplement the industry of the people as to make it an object for them to offer large inducements for the loan and use of capital?

That many of these natural resources will ultimately become impaired or exhausted, cannot be doubted; but that any which now materially contribute to the wealth and prosperity of the country are likely to be so affected within the next quarter or half century, does not seem at all probable. Thus, of the land available for the profitable growth of cotton, not three per cent. has ever at any one time been put under actual cultivation; of coal, the most available source of motive power, the deposits of the United States greatly exceed the aggregate of those of all other countries, and, at the same time, are more convenient for working, and of greater average value in quality; our deposits of the metals can scarcely be said to have been as yet explored; our area of unoccupied fertile land, free to all actual settlers, is yet in excess of a thousand millions of acres; while the varieties of climate, soil, and crops are such as to ensure the United States from what in all other countries is ever a source of anxiety, viz., a deficiency of food. So long, moreover, as fertile land can be had for mere occupation, or can be purchased by the acre for less than a day's wages, pauper labor, although much talked of, can neither exist in the United States nor in any other country under similar conditions, except through the ignorance or inertness of the masses—two qualities not characteristic of Americans—and for the simple reason that the possession and cultivation of fertile land is always capable of giving to its owner a generous support; and when less than this is afforded by other employments, the tendency, through obvious self-interest, will be to abandon the latter and embrace the former.

It seems certain, then, that under the above and other conditions, the industry of the United States must, as a whole, continue for a long time to be more productive than that of the older civilized and more fully occupied countries of Europe; that wages cannot here fall below a comparatively high standard; and that labor can continue to afford to pay liberally for the use of capital. So far, therefore, as the resources of the country are concerned, the evidence is complete that there can be no limitation within the next quarter of a century upon the present demand for capital, or of the opportunity to use it under such conditions as will warrant the continued payment of at least the present average rates of interest.

2d. *Supply and Demand.* Let us next consider the application of the second principle to the material and social condition of the country.

With its immense natural resources and powers of production, the United States, from the first settlement of its territory by civilized man, has never been able to obtain from its own population a supply of capital adequate to its desires or necessities, but has drawn largely upon the accumulation of other and older countries—the amount thus drawn

within the last ten years alone from Europe having been at least twelve hundred millions of dollars (\$1,200,000,000). But, notwithstanding this immense amount, superadded to whatever during the same period may have resulted from the excess of domestic production over domestic consumption, the supply of active capital in the United States has never been equal to the demand, and no loans have been effected since 1860 for any considerable amount on time, by any corporation or individual in the United States, for less than *six per cent.*; or by any State, or by the National Government, for a lower rate, unless accompanied by some advantage—such as exemption from taxation, payment of interest in gold, etc.—equivalent to from one to two per cent. additional; while, in fact, the majority of the loans made during the time indicated have averaged nearer seven and eight rather than six per cent. We have also shown that the opportunity to use capital advantageously in the United States is certain to be fully as great during the next twenty-five years, at least, as it has been at any time heretofore; and it is in the nature of a self-evident proposition, that when opportunity is presented for such uses, the desire to have with a view to use will not be wanting. The question, therefore, that next presents itself for consideration is, *From whence, and on what terms, is our future desired supply of capital to be obtained?*

Taking it for granted that the home supply, however much it may be increased through increased industry, frugality, and wise legislation, will not prove sufficient for our necessities in the immediate future, as it certainly has not in the past, the only other source to look to must be the accumulations of Europe. But the accumulations of Europe are not unlimited, and have been drawn upon to such an extent within the last ten years, that a permanent rise in the European rate of interest for time loans is universally conceded, if, indeed, it has not already taken place. As some indication of the demands recently made upon the loanable capital of Europe, it may be stated that the aggregate of the loans known to have been negotiated in Europe during the year 1870 was in excess of \$1,100,000,000, of which considerably more than one-half was for reproductive and useful purposes, and the balance on account of war or military expenditures; while for the present year, the requirements of France for the payment of indemnity, and of France and Germany alike for the replacement of capital wasted or destroyed by war, will independently necessitate the raising of sums equal to the aggregate of the loans of all Europe for any former equal period. We have, therefore, in these facts a guarantee, as it were, that the supply of capital from Europe for new investments is not for the immediate future to be increased, or the rate of interest to be in any degree diminished; and if these inferences are correct, then the prevailing rate of interest in the United States for money loaned is certainly not likely to be any less for the next twenty-five years than it has been during the last quarter of a century.

But, apart from what may be termed inferences and speculations, we have a very sure test of what is to be the minimum rate of interest in the United States for the period named from observing the rate at which loans have been recently negotiated in Europe for a corresponding time on what may be considered the best of security. Previous to the Franco-German war, no nation, in Europe or elsewhere, could borrow in any foreign market at a less rate than five per cent. We use the term "foreign market," since the only nations in Europe (Great Britain, Belgium, and France) which within the last few years have borrowed at a lower rate, have borrowed within their own markets and of their own people. But, of these, Belgium has comparatively no debt; Great Britain is the monetary centre and reservoir of the whole world; while France, whatever she has been, is certain for a long period to come to be financially prostrate. Again, since 1861, the United States has not been able to sell any portion of its funded debt bearing six per cent. gold interest in European markets on terms as favorable as par in gold. In 1860, Prussia was able to dispose of a five per cent. loan at a premium. After the Austrian and Danish wars, which brought to her large accessions of territory, material resources, and population, she could no longer borrow at 5 per cent. at par, but sold her bonds at a discount of 4 per cent. To-day, the 5 per cent. scrip of the North German Confederation, after the most successful war (*i. e.*, with France) upon record, is quoted upon the London Stock Exchange [85 paid in] at 87  $\frac{1}{2}$ . The "French National Defence" 6 per cent. loan commands in the same market but 86  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; and, before the war, it is known that the city of Paris paid indirectly for the money borrowed for municipal improvements as high a rate as 7 per cent. The European price of the Russian 5 per cent. loan of 1870 is 84  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; of the Spanish 5 per cents., secured by a mortgage on the celebrated quicksilver mines of New Almaden, in addition to

the faith of the Government, 76  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; of Portuguese 3 per cents. of 1869, 32  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; of Italian 6 per cents. secured by a pledge of the state revenues from tobacco, 87  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Japanese 9 per cents., 89; Chilean 6s of 1867, 98; Massachusetts sterling 5s, interest and principal payable in London, 93  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Louisiana 6s, 61  $\frac{1}{2}$ . It will thus be seen that the average rates of interest in European markets on the best Government loans extending over a period of from twenty to thirty years, approximate six per cent. On the other hand, the rate for loans of the best character recently negotiated by corporations or private associations, in the same market, ranges somewhat higher. Thus, Russian railway 5 per cent. mortgage bonds, for which the faith of the Government and the earnings of the roads are pledged, and which are a favorite investment throughout the whole of Central Europe, sell for about 85  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Egyptian 7 per cent. railway mortgages, 99  $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Panama 7 per cent. general mortgage, due in 1897, 93; Illinois and Missouri 1st mortgage Bridge bonds (sterling), 87; Michigan Central 1st mortgage sinking fund 8 per cents., 85; and Pennsylvania Railroad 6 per cent. general mortgage (sterling, due 1910), 91. Furthermore, the London *Economist*, the best European authority on this subject, estimates that the average rate of interest on a majority of the foreign and colonial stocks now owned in Great Britain, is equal to from six to seven per cent. as a minimum, and places the amount of them at a not less figure than two thousand eight hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

So much, then, for the *present* rate of interest in Europe; while, for the *future*, the indications are certainly not of a character to warrant the expectation of any lower rate, but rather lead to a contrary and opposite conclusion. Thus, the tendency and spirit of the age are more and more towards the undertaking of industrial enterprises of such magnitude and character as require the capital of the world for their support and execution; such for example as the Pacific Railroad, Suez Canal, Mont Cenis Tunnel, and the numberless projected railways in Eastern Europe, Western America, and even India and Western Asia; and contemporaneously with these unprecedented demands for the loan of capital, the extension and use of railroads, steamships, and the telegraph have broken down the barriers of nationalities, and, by bringing people geographically remote into close commercial correspondence and connection, have made, as it were, the whole world one, and caused capital, freed from restraint to tend to a common rate of interest, as water freed from confinement always tends to a common level. And, in addition to all this demand—the result of legitimate industry and progress—the requirement for money by the nations of Europe for military purposes promises to be as large if not larger in the immediate future as it has been in the recent past. The condition of Germany, flushed with victory and conscious of almost irresistible strength, and of France, sullen and panting for revenge, is a perpetual menace against peace, and, as already shown by the action of Great Britain, invites to larger military preparations and consequent greater expenditures.

So far, then, as the financial condition of Europe operates in determining the rate of interest on money loaned to or in the United States, there is not the first particle of evidence tending to show that any lower rates than those now prevailing can for the immediate future be reasonably anticipated.

Coming next to our own country, we find that the new national 5 per cent. loan has thus far been taken mainly by the banks, acting obviously under the motive of thereby averting future legislation hostile to themselves, and has not proved in any degree attractive to the general public, although the exemption of the loan from all local taxation is nominally or really equivalent to an additional one, two, or three per cent. interest; all of which unmistakably indicates that in the opinion of our own capitalists money is not to be commanded in the immediate future on time, and on the very best of security, for any less rate of interest than six or seven per cent., with higher rates for borrowers offering less favorable conditions in respect to security.

There is also another circumstance which has not heretofore been discussed publicly and specifically, which has for years past tended to raise the rate of interest in the leading financial centres of the United States, and which for years to come will continue to operate in the same manner; and that is, the insufficiency of original capital on which industrial enterprises are organized and started in this country. This is particularly the case with corporations engaged in manufacturing, many of which have often their whole paid-up capital, and not unfrequently something additional, invested in permanent fixtures, land, buildings, or machinery, leaving nothing for contingencies in business and as a basis for active operations. The consequence is, that



when times are dull and sales slack, or when a decline in the prices of goods or of raw material renders it expedient that stocks should be carried or purchased, these companies are forced into the market for money at almost any price, and, through the advantage thereby taken of their necessities by brokers and money-lenders, the rate of interest generally is forced up spasmodically, kept higher than it otherwise would be, and everywhere rendered unstable. And for all this there will be no efficient remedy until legislation ceases to encourage industrial growth on any other than a sure and natural foundation.

3d. *Safety and risk of capital when loaned.* No matter how great may be the resources of a country, or how thrifty and prosperous its people, any disregard of law, or of the obligations of contracts, or any taint upon the administration of justice, whether committed with the sanction of the whole or any portion of the community, is certain to be paid for by such people or country in an increased rate of interest upon the capital which they may desire to borrow. And, however disagreeable it may be, it is nevertheless true that the reputation of the United States, either in the past or present, has not been and is not now in all respects what it should be. How repudiation in the past has affected the supply of capital to the United States from abroad is too well known to require restatement, but it should be clearly understood that the present repudiation by the States of Iowa and Minnesota of certain liabilities; the irregularities in the payment of the interest by certain Southern States on their bonds, or the bonds of railways possessing State guarantees—all continue even yet to affect the credit of the whole country, and consequently to enhance the average rate of interest. And this is an influence also the removal of which is not to be effected right speedily.

4th. Mr. Amasa Walker's assertion that the uniformity and general average of the rate of interest in any country depends further upon the soundness of the currency made use of in such country in effecting exchanges, finds indubitable support in the following facts: 1st. That the fluctuations in the rates of interest in the United States since 1832 have been more frequent and excessive than in any European countries in respect to which data are accessible, the average rate of interest in the cities of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Chicago, as computed from the record of public transactions, from 1844 to 1858, having been approximately 10.5 per cent. 2d. That in none of the leading commercial states of Europe has the mixed currency used during the same period been so deficient in value as that of the United States. 3d. That the price of no other commodity in the United States during the same time offered for sale or to hire has in time of peace exhibited any such variations as the price of money. The reason of this last, according to Mr. Walker, is, that commodities are not wanted to pay notes; but in order to respond to pecuniary engagements, money is and must be had, cost what it may. "Under a currency, therefore," continues Mr. Walker, "in which credit is the principal element, the fluctuations in interest are in proportion to the extent of that element; because a mixed currency, whenever there is any panic or distress for money, withdraws from circulation proportioned to its weakness or want of value. Hence the frightful revulsions of the past, and we may doubtless expect that these will increase in force and frequency in the future, since the mixed currency system, once almost exclusively confined to England, France, and the United States, is being extended throughout the commercial world. The risks of credit will, therefore, be greater, and the average rate of interest will, so far as risk is concerned, be advanced."

I have thus briefly presented the evidence which seems to me available for the formation of an opinion respecting the average rate of interest that may be expected to prevail throughout the United States, under various conditions of security, for the next quarter of a century. My own conclusion, from a somewhat careful investigation of the subject, is, that although capital in the United States during that period may be expected to increase greatly, the opportunity and desire alike for the investment and use of such capital will be more than correspondingly augmented through the increase of population and the development of the natural resources of the country; and that in other respects, circumstances do not favor any immediate reduction of the rates of interest. The civilization of the United States, furthermore, in contradistinction to that which prevails in other parts of the world, is a civilization of rapid growth and forced development. That which in other and older countries has required centuries to accomplish—such as the improvement and ornamentation of towns, the construction of roads, harbors, elaborate public buildings and

parks; the providing of water supplies and systems of drainage, the incurring and the paying of great debts—we expect to make the work of years. And while such a condition of things prevails, the demand for capital will always tend to be in excess of supply; and industries made highly productive by force of circumstance can afford and will pay for its use most liberally. I am well aware that in a country where the 'societary circulation,' to use a modern expression, is active, money as an instrument for effecting exchanges, or capital as an instrument of production, produces its results more rapidly than in countries where the social movement is more sluggish; and that this increase in rapidity of use is equivalent to an increase of supply. But taking all this into consideration, I think one would hazard little in predicting that during the next twenty-five years, without such a condition of general disturbance and revolution in Europe as would endanger the safety of investments in that country, the average rate of interest for the United States as a whole will not be less than seven per cent. If the National or State Governments are able to borrow for less in their own markets, it will be because of the offer of compensating advantages for the reduction, either in the way of security, exemption from taxation, or facility of conversion.

DAVID A. WELLS.

## Notes.

MESSRS. J. R. OSGOOD & CO. have added to their regular business a subscription department, under the special charge of H. A. Brown & Co. Parton's "Life and Times of Benjamin Franklin," and Coffin's "New Way Round the World," are to be sold through this channel, while a vaguely-described theological work is in preparation. With the 1st of July Mr. Fields retires altogether from the *Atlantic Monthly*, leaving Mr. W. D. Howells at the head in name as well as in fact.—Messrs. Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger have in press a number of tales—"The King's God-child," translated with other stories from the German; "American Wonderland," by Richard Mead Bache; "Aureola, or the Black Sheep," by Mrs. Adelaide Mackenzie; "Callirhoe," from the French of Maurice Sand; "In a Crucible," by Mrs. E. L. Pugh; and one or two more. Also, A. G. de Cassagnac's "History of the Working and Burgher Classes," published in Paris in 1839, but not without a present interest; "The Transformations of Insects," by Prof. P. Martin Duncan, of King's College, London, profusely illustrated; and "The Engineer's Pocket-Book," by John C. Trautwine, C.E., designed as a useful compendium of necessary information.—A printer's error made us give Pilpay's "Tables" among Messrs. Hurd & Houghton's announcements last week. It should have read "Fables"; and we may add here that the illustrations are from the woodcuts of the famous engraver Alexander Anderson.—"A Life's Assize," by Mrs. Riddell; Dr. William Smith's "Scriptural History;" and Vol. II. of Brodhead's "History of the State of New York," are among the latest announcements of Messrs. Harper & Bros.

—The favorite standard topic of the American press is treated in a friendly spirit by a writer in the *British Quarterly Review* for January, using Maverick's Life of the late Henry J. Raymond for his text. It is such an article as would naturally be written in dependence principally on the information contained in any book, and not from personal experience of this country—erring sometimes as to facts, confounding former periods with the present, and a little mixed in its "perspective." *Harper's Magazine* is described as "an illustrated monthly for the fashionable world"—which, even if such a world exists in the United States, is very wide of the truth in regard to the most popular of our magazines. Bonner's *Ledger* is judged by the contributions of Parton, Beecher, Everett, Saxé, and Bryant, and not by the oceans of trash in which these literary peaks are submerged. The *National Era* and *National Intelligencer* are spoken of as still published in Washington. The former, like the latter, it is said, "has a high position as a literary and political journal." "The literary superiority of the religious press over the secular in America" is gravely accounted for as if a notorious fact. The *North American Review* "is certainly below the intellectual level of the four or five English reviews which are reprinted in New York every quarter, within a fortnight of their publication in England;" though it is "written with great spirit, learning, and ability," and "abounds in profound and original discussions on the most interesting subjects." Its style "is not free from the common sin of affectation." As for the *Atlantic*, it "holds a deservedly high place in American letters, . . . but its influence has always been thrown into the scale against Evangelical Christianity." In accounting

for our failure to produce a respectable comic paper, the *Review* utters a thought which we lately offered in explanation: "The Americans, however, have never had a Tenniel, a Doyle, a Leech, a Du Maurier, or a Keene, to throw off, week after week, the most amusing and instructive of pictorial satires." And strange as it may seem, we believe there is much truth in the remark which follows:

"After all, there is hardly anything the Americans need more than a good comic paper, to moderate the intensity of their politics, to laugh down the extravagant follies of American society, to measure the strength of public men, to register their blunders, and expose their hollowness, to watch over the caprices of fashion, to criticise the press itself, with its coarseness and scurrility, its disgraceful advertisements, and its downright fabrications; taking good care to keep free from those sins which so easily beset satirists—rancor, obscenity, and attacks on private character."

We are glad to say here that the political designs of the St. Louis journal, called *Puck*, whose first issue we lately praised, continue to be by far the best that this generation has seen, or, perhaps, is destined to see from an American draughtsman; and that the German element is likely to add not a little to the national capacity for pictorial humor.

—A much-needed course of instruction in philology has been developed at Yale in the Department of Philosophy and the Fine Arts, that promises to assume the consistency and method of a school, and, as such, may be attended by persons not connected with the college. It will embrace two years of study, for which the yearly fee will be one hundred dollars, and "the successful and duly attested completion of which will entitle the student to the degree of Doctor of Philosophy." Professor Whitney is to teach the general principles of linguistic science, the comparative philology of the Indo-European languages, and the Sanskrit language. Professor Hadley will explain the structure of the Greek language, and, in conjunction with Professor Packard, "will instruct in the more difficult Greek authors," as Professor Thacher will in Latin works not usually read in college; and he will also teach the Gothic (of Ulfilas), Mr. Lounsbury being the instructor in Anglo-Saxon. The modern Romanic languages will be in charge of Professor Coe; the Hebrew and other Semitic languages, in charge of Professor Day; the Chinese and Japanese languages will be taught by Mr. Van Name. Further particulars of this school, which will open at New Haven September 14, may be had of Professor Whitney. There should be no lack of scholars, and we apprehend there will be none. There are few Western colleges that would not gain by giving one or more of their instructors in language a two years' leave of absence, in order to place themselves under the eminent professors just mentioned.

—A noteworthy dedication of a Boston school-house took place last week. The building in question cost upwards of \$300,000, and is doubtless the finest of its kind in the country. It is occupied by the Girls' High and Normal School, which originally was designed merely to train women to become teachers, but which has for many years ceased to make an intention to teach a condition of receiving instruction. The course now provides not only for the making of teachers, but for a general education little less than collegiate, with a tendency to anticipate the Simmons Institute in furnishing the necessary preparation for industrial or mercantile pursuits. By far the greater number of graduates do teach school for a shorter or longer period; 233 of them have become instructors in the primary schools of the city, and 310 in the grammar; while 16 have remained in the school itself as teachers. These facts alone would prove the worldly wisdom of the Bostonians in giving the school such ample and costly accommodations, the architectural completeness of which has been supplemented by the gift of certain antique casts from the American Social Science Association and from private citizens. We some time ago spoke of this proposed experiment, and can now refer those who would be interested in the details to the little pamphlet just issued by the Association, and containing a list and brief description of the casts selected for the hall of the Girls' High and Normal School, of other casts equally suitable for a like purpose, and particulars as to the mode and cost of procuring them. Once known, this Boston example can hardly fail to be copied widely.

—A correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, who witnessed the recent German procession in this city, makes some observations on the physique of the participants, which will not be disputed, we think, by other spectators. He says that the number of "stalwart, big-boned, heavily-limbed, muscular men, handsome, free-faced, and very vital," was about one in nine or ten, which he calls "a fair proportion," and thinks it possibly larger "than could be found in a similar display of an equal number

of any European people." Comparing equal numbers in the German and St. Patrick processions, the former seemed to him heavier and stouter men, and "to march more lightly and freely than the latter"—on which we may remark that slippery streets and black broadcloth *de rigueur* must have affected the step of the Irish unfavorably, on the particular occasion referred to. "But as a whole," says the correspondent, "the appearance of the German procession, in its feature of stalwart, vigorous, and aggressive manhood, was not particularly impressive." There was, certainly, in looking at the ranks of leather helmets, a feeling of disappointment, as if they hardly equalled one's exalted conception of the first soldiers in Europe, whom they were supposed to counterfeit; and one who had seen a Maine regiment on its way South imagined how it would have towered without a helmet beside any troop that celebrated the German peace. The writer in the *Commercial* saw what may still be called the greatest review of the century, when the hundred thousand, chiefly Western soldiers, forming Sherman's army, passed in procession in Washington, after their long march through the Southern States. "They were of greater average height and breadth of chest" than the followers of St. Patrick or of King Gambrinus in the recent turn-out. "They were incomparably the best-shaped mass of men I ever saw—muscular, but not fatty, large-boned, but not clumsy, with features determinate and strong. They were light-footed and easy-moving. They seemed pre-eminently natural and American—if these words may be here used as expressive of ideas which, to my mind at least, are distinct enough." Distinct enough, also, we will add, to those who remember the qualities of that remarkable army, and the elasticity of the discipline which made them for fighting, for road-building, for marching, for throwing up earth-works, the readiest and most supple organization the world has ever seen, and in which, perhaps, the soldier counted for relatively more, and the officer for relatively less, than in any other army of equal efficiency.

—Some of us who folded and put away our maps of France, after the withdrawal of the Germans from Paris, have been convicted of too great haste by the civil war which has raged ever since. And we overlooked, too, the extent and probable duration of the German occupation, which, at this moment, employs half a million of men in fifteen departments. A map designed to illustrate the peace boundaries of the war—if we may use the expression—has been published by Brockhaus: "Frankreich und die Grenzgebiete" (New York: L. W. Schmidt). It shows, by means of appropriate coloring and shading, the territory held by the Germans during the armistice, quite a third of France; that portion of it on the left bank of the Seine, evacuated after the ratification of peace by the Bordeaux Assembly; and the three districts to be evacuated successively, upon payment of the first half-milliard, the second milliard, and the remainder of the indemnity. The annexed territory is also distinctly marked, so that, except in minor particulars, the map serves for the whole history of the war. Editors will find it useful for future reference, and its cheapness brings it within the reach of every one.

—The meagre reports from Paris represent the theatres and stalls as open, Punch and Judy shows going on, carriages and omnibuses running up to the Arch, and crowds in holiday attire moving to and fro. "Groups are gathered round and curiously examining the lamp-posts which were struck." The mixture of horrors and frivolity is quite suggestive of the First Revolution. Perhaps the best description that could be given of the scenes inside Paris, is Tacitus's account of the aspect of Rome just before the death of Vitellius (Hist. iii. 83): "Aderat pugnantibus spectator populus, utque in ludicro certamine, hos, rursus illos clamore et plausu fovebat . . . . Saeva ac deformis urbe tota facies. Alibi proelia et volnera, alibi balineae popinaeque; simul cruor et strues corporum, iuxta scorta et scortis similes; quantum in luxurioso otio libidinum, quidquid in acerbissima captivitate scelerum, prorsus ut eandem civitatem et furere crederes et lascivire. Confluxerant ante armati exercitus in urbe, bis Lucio Sulla, semel Cinna victoribus; nec tunc minus crudelitatis; nunc inhumana securitas et ne minimo quidem temporis voluptates intermissae." To translate this literally would be difficult. The sense is about as follows: "The people flocked to witness the fighting, and, as if at the amphitheatre, applauded now this faction, now that. . . . The whole aspect of the city was foul and unnatural. While bloody fighting was going on in one quarter, in another the baths and restaurants were in full operation; almost at the very scene of slaughter, prostitutes and their like plied their trade; and the same city, you would have said, exhibited the sum of debauchery and of villany natural to a state either of luxurious idleness or of the bitterest subjection. Armed forces had fought before within the city, Sulla proving victorious, and



Cinfa once, nor in those days was there less cruelty; but now there was a brutal indifference, and no intermission of pleasure even for an instant."

—An interesting announcement which we find in the *Academy* is that Mr. W. R. S. Ralston is preparing a work designed to acquaint Western readers with the popular songs, epic poems, and prose stories of the Russians. The first part will give an account of the chief festivals of pagan origin still kept up in Russia, and of the relics of old songs consecrated to them; and will also include a sketch of the fairy mythology, and marriage and funeral songs, charms, and incantations of the people. Next, if not first, in point of attraction for the general reader is to be the third part, in which Mr. Ralston will translate a certain number of the most original tales, and append an analysis of others, "so as to show in what points the Slavonic renderings of the old stories with which we are all so familiar resemble or differ from those which are peculiar to the various other branches of the Aryan race."

—One of the unsettled vexed questions between the manufacturers of books and the readers of them is whether the leaves should be cut or not, before any work is offered for sale. The arguments on both sides are too well known to need rehearsing. We have lately met with a new one, however, which is worth reporting, although it may not have the same weight in this country as in England. The experience of the Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, and the unpleasant exposure they felt called upon to make of a certain journal or periodical which immediately sold to the second-hand dealers the works received from them for review, may be still remembered. It appears that the practice from which they suffered both annoyance and injury is a quite general one. The *London Bookseller*, of April 3, says that stamping the title-page or writing in the book does little if anything to check it, while reviewers of the better class object to having a book which they wish to keep, thus disfigured. It suggests that "the end the publishers have in view would be gaiped by their having the leaves cut open with a reading-knife; this would prevent the book from being sold as new, and would also be attended with the advantage of enabling the reviewer to go through the volume"—more at his ease, one might suppose. No, simply "to go through the volume. At present, with some of the journals in question, strict orders are given not to cut open the leaves; consequently the glance given by the reviewer is very limited." It might be difficult to say which party to the controversy first mentioned is sustained by the *Bookseller*.

### JOWETT'S TRANSLATION OF PLATO.\*

(FIRST NOTICE.)

WHEN we expressed a wish † that some attempt might be made to popularize Plato for the benefit of American readers, we did not anticipate that an important step towards its fulfilment was so near. This book is, as Plato himself might have said, a veritable *ἐκπαίδευσις*, and we fondly trust that no important public library will long be without it. We wish we could add the time-honored expression about "no gentleman's library," but we much fear that some of our gentlemen will prefer a basket of champagne (the cost of the two commodities being about the same) to such a "possession for ever" as Professor Jowett's Plato.

The work is remarkable on two accounts. It is the only complete English version of Plato executed by a single translator. Of the two previous, one was commenced by Sydenham and finished by Taylor, while the other (in Bohn's "Classical Series") is the production of three different hands. This fact, which by itself would only prove the industry and perseverance of the writer, is complemented by his thirty years' experience and reputation, of which experience and reputation we cannot hesitate to pronounce the book worthy.

Of course, no English scholar at the present day would put forth a translation on this scale without accompanying it by some comment. Professor Jowett's preface is brief, containing little more than an enumeration of his principal authorities, and a few terse references to Grote. He gives no general introduction, but a special introduction to each particular dialogue, combined with an analysis or abridgment. This certainly increases the labor of reading the book understandingly, but a translation of all Plato must always be somewhat hard to read, a book requiring time and thought. When we spoke of popularizing him, we did not mean that he was to be or could be brought down to the illustrated-weekly

level. The most that we can hope is to introduce him to the *dilettante* class of readers—a class not small and not diminishing in number. There is a great deal of matter and of stimulus to thought in these introductions, and their style is generally very clear, considering the difficult subjects of which they frequently treat and the narratives which they have to abridge. In this respect, Professor Jowett has a great advantage over Mr. Grote, who, though an excellent arguer, is a very clumsy narrator, and far from elegant in his abridged translations. Where so much is excellent, it is hard to select any particular passage for special commendation, but we have taken a great fancy to the discussion of the origin of language in the introduction to the "Cratylus." Here we think the Professor has taken the just middle view among the conflicting theories, namely, that onomatopoeia accounts for the rudiments, but only the rudiments, of language; at an early stage of its development and of civilization a higher element comes in.

There are, however, some points on which we are obliged to differ from Professor Jowett. These we shall endeavor to explain, trusting that we may be able to steer clear of both Scylla and Charybdis, of impertinent dogmatism on the one hand and servile assent on the other.

1. He is even more solicitous than most modern commentators to break up the old groups in which the Platonic dialogues were formerly arranged. Even the writers and lecturers of the day generally adopt in practice some system (entire or partial) of grouping. Most Platonists, we suspect, would connect the "Protagoras" and "Gorgias" together, at least for some purposes. Such a connection the Regius Professor almost entirely ignores. The interdependence of the "Theatetus," "Sophists," and "Politics" (the first three in the series of a projected but never-finished group of four) is so palpable that it cannot be denied. Yet Professor Jowett seems to admit it somewhat grudgingly, and to lay unnecessary stress on his hypothesis that the "Theatetus" was written piecemeal at intervals, and the other two added long after. This, if strictly true, would not interfere with the connection, as we know that even a series of connected fiction, like Cooper's "Hawkeye" novels, may be spread over a period of nearly twenty years. In some instances, he emphasizes the relation of two dialogues more strongly than all Platonists would, e. g., in the case of the "Phædrus" and "Symposium." But, generally, he appears more eager to separate than to join. It is possible that we have misunderstood him, and only found a mare's-nest, but we are bound to give our impression; and we readily admit that the question is of no great practical importance. When we have once admitted that there is no one complete and consistent philosophical system to be extracted from Plato (and since Grote's thorough exposition we suppose every one—at least every Anglo-Saxon—admits this), the connection of two or three dialogues here and there is a matter of small consequence. It will not even help us to discover their dates. All we can do is to note the gradual change (not attempting to draw a sharp line anywhere between two dialogues) from the Socratic, sceptical, and liberal to the Oriental (?), positive, and inquisitorial. But Professor Jowett goes further. He shows a constant tendency to resolve, if we may so express it, the individual dialogue itself. He is continually warning us "not to expect to find one idea pervading a whole work." Now, Plato's *forte* was his dramatic power; and if we allow that he frequently violated the dramatic unity of subject, we deal a blow at his literary reputation. We prefer to explain the *apparent* double subject of several dialogues in this way: The first theme is merely a prelude or prologue, designed to attract the reader's attention, and to introduce the second or real theme, perhaps with somewhat of that element of surprise so common in Plato.

2. He has very justly and acutely separated from the "Sophists" some persons popularly classed among them, such as Callicles, the ambitious and unscrupulous man of the world, neither Sophist nor philosopher, but more opposed to Socrates than any Sophist. He is also careful (Introduction to "Theatetus," vol. iii., p. 327) to inform us "that the Sophists are sometimes in the right and Socrates sometimes in the wrong," notwithstanding which, he has not quite rid himself of the old German phantom of a Sophistic fiend, as Grote not unhappily dubbed that particular evolution of the Teutonic moral consciousness. On this head we join issue with him. Our reasons for doing so are derived partly from recollection of Grote's work (which we have not read for several years), partly from independent sources of information, some of them supplied by the Regius Professor himself.

First, a Sophist was merely a teacher of and lecturer on moral philosophy—giving the term a pretty wide range, as in the *moral papers* of a university examination. Some of these persons were doubtless impostors

\* "The Dialogues of Plato. Translated into English. With Analysis and Introductions. By B. Jowett, M.A., Master of Balliol College, Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford." In four volumes. London, Oxford, and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1871.

† *Nation*, February 2. Article on "Plutarch's Morals."

and bad men, but to make them all into a class about which we are to predicate everything bad, as we might about a Tammany ring, is no more just than it would be to throw a similar drag-net over all the lecturers or all the clergymen in the United States, or to comprehend all our lawyers in the category of "shysters."

Secondly, the question which ("Introduction to Sophist," vol. iii., p. 450) Professor Jowett so boldly answers in the negative, we as boldly answer with Mr. Grote in the affirmative. Socrates and Plato were Sophists to the Athenians, not to the mass alone—the *demos*—but to men who stood high among the *charientes*—the "upper ten." That very intelligent and well-educated gentleman, Aristophanes, took Socrates as the representative Sophist. And yet there does not appear to have been any personal or political enmity between the two men. On the contrary, Plato himself represents them jollifying together at Agathon's house. Aristophanes did, indeed, attribute to Socrates doctrines which he never professed, such as that of Prodicus about the better and worse reason. But this does not show ignorance or malice on the part of the dramatist. It naturally arises from the representative character with which he had invested Socrates.

Thirdly, Mr. Cope and others have maintained that the Sophists were bad men from a Conservative Athenian point of view (*Conservative* here meaning *Democratic*, as in some other times and places), because they were iconoclasts and disorganizers. We suspect the answer to this may be found anticipated in Grote; at any rate, it is easy enough. To the average Athenian, there were no greater iconoclasts and perturbators than the philosophers, Socrates, of course, included. The facts of the case, the condemnation of the master and dispersion of his disciples, show this conclusively.

Fourthly, the Sophists, it is said, took pay for their instruction, which was disgraceful, according to the Greek idea. The philosophers proper, though they sometimes received presents from their pupils and admirers (Plato himself accepted gifts), never made a fixed charge. The difference may have been something like that between the regular faculty and the advertising empiric. We can understand its creating a prejudice against the foreign lecturers; but, according to our modern ideas, they were "worthy of their hire"—unless they were bad men and corruptors of youth, which it is hardly fair to infer from their having been in advance of their age on a point of economical ethics.

Fifthly, most of the persons called Sophists were foreigners—that is, not Athenians. When we remember the "Know-nothing" character of the very best ancient communities, we see here another natural ground of popular prejudice. Yet we must not, after all, assign too much weight to this fact. There are several circumstances to set off against it. These "foreigners" were, at any rate, Greeks, and the Greeks, though never lucky enough to attain a real national union, had many national common qualities. Then the Athenians, though falling far short of our theory of liberality to strangers, were far superior, both in that quality and in good-breeding, to some other Greeks. The wealthier class certainly lionized and patronized the distinguished strangers, and there are plausible reasons for supposing that motives of delicacy and politeness caused Socrates, rather than one of those strangers, to be introduced in the "Clouds" as the representative Sophist. Aristophanes was in advance of Mr. Bancroft.

Sixthly, Professor Jowett himself bears witness that, in some things which we place among the very first elements of morality, the leading Sophists were more virtuous than the leading philosophers. There was nothing in their practice that entitled them to be called "corrupters of youth."

Finally, we think he virtually throws up the whole argument when he admits (vol. iii., p. 448) that the Sophist whom Plato is always attacking was no particular Sophist or Sophists, but "an imaginary being"—a "creation of Plato's in which the falsehood of all mankind is reflected."

3. It is about Professor Jowett's remarks on the "Republic" that the reader will probably be most curious to hear. These remarks are not exactly in character with the traditional reputation of an Oxford professor, nor yet are they altogether what we might expect from a leader of that rationalistic demonstration predicted, more than twenty-five years ago, as the inevitable reaction from the Puseyite movement. They are exculpatory, for the most part. Plato abolished private property with as little ceremony as Proudhon; but "are we quite sure that the received notions of property are the best?" He abolished marriage and legalized infanticide, from which recommendations "we start back horrified;" yet, "on the other hand, we cannot deny" that no form of religion or society has yet been able to solve "this greatest and most difficult of social problems."

Here our criticism charges him with omissions rather than with positive errors.

First, the scheme of Plato's "Republic" is as much condemned by ancient and pagan as by modern and Christian ethics. This is conclusively shown by Aristotle's acute and complete dissection of it. The commentator who contrasts Plato only with the moderns virtually ignores and conceals this important truth.

Secondly, Plato has anticipated the equality of the sexes. True, but in so doing he lays great stress on the only difference which he allows to exist between them—the physical. He begins by expressing this difference in terms which a Le Motteux or a Walt Whitman would not venture to translate literally—indeed, would not be able to translate literally for want of dictionary words—and much of his legislation is based on this difference, and devoted to the regulation and modification of its natural results. Ought not a commentator to emphasize these facts in some way, when it is remembered that our modern equalizers are, most of them, always trying to elude the consequences of these results?

Thirdly, Professor Jowett allows something for the obstacles interposed by individual attachments and youthful passion, yet admits, negatively, so to speak, and by absence of further investigation, that if these motives could be restrained by moral or social considerations, the problem would be solved, in a sense entirely favorable to Plato. In this error he is not solitary, and, looking at the frequency of it, we have often thought that no man was qualified to give an authoritative opinion on the principles of matrimonial legislation (and *à fortiori* to legislate) without some knowledge and experience of stock-raising and turf history. The difficulty of making crosses "nick," the fact that an inferior cross will often nick and a superior fail, the number of technically unsound animals, the apparent paradox, but oft-proved truth, that some unsound animals are better than some sound ones for several purposes, and those not the least valuable—all these phenomena show that if we could make men as subservient to legislation in this respect as the lower animals are to the will of their masters, we should still be a long way off from the promised perfection of propagation.

Fourthly, We think the Professor wrong (though his error is almost universal) in applying the term *community* of goods and women to Plato's "Republic." The proper phrase is *abolition of private property and marriage*. *Community* implies a general license altogether foreign to Plato's scheme.

Fifthly, We differ *toto calo* from him when he says that the limitation of this (commonly so-called) community to the guardian class is "not of any real significance." We think it has much significance, that it is in accordance with the usual course of Greek political thought, and with the ideas and opinions advanced in some other writings of Plato, and that it suggests several curious and important speculations.

And lastly, in the interest of Plato himself we object to defending him where he is indefensible. To our mind, a serious vindication of the "Republic" is about as reasonable, and nearly as wrong, as a serious vindication of the classical *παρρησία*. In this we may be mistaken; but in one thing we certainly are not mistaken: such misplaced support is sure to provoke reaction. It is like praising Cromwell's wart or John Wilkes's squint. It is certain to raise up men like Potter, who fall upon Plato tooth and nail, decrying him as a mystic and a sensualist, full of all Oriental abominations, deriving what good he originally had from Socrates, and altogether bad when he set up for himself.

While thus speaking our mind freely on some passages of Professor Jowett's great work, we again express our hearty admiration of its general character. Further, we admit the possibility of our having sometimes misunderstood him. His method of treatment, at once broad and terse, is exposed to the danger as old as Horace, *dum brevis esse laboro*, etc., the obscurity in this case arising, not from the style (which, as we have already remarked, is singularly clear), but from the very pregnancy of the writing, which leaves much to be filled up by the reader, the trouble being that different readers, of equal care and honesty, will sometimes differ about the filling up.

Of the manner in which the translation itself is executed, we have as yet said nothing. One great difficulty in translating Plato and Aristotle we remarked upon in a former article;\* and we may be pardoned for quoting, in illustration and confirmation of what we then said, the very first words of Professor Jowett's very first introduction:

"The subject of the 'Charmides' is Temperance, or *σωφροσύνη*, a peculiarly Greek notion, which may also be rendered Moderation, Modesty, Dis-

\* On "Plutarch's Morals."



cretion, Wisdom, without completely exhausting by all these terms the various associations of the word. . . . In the accompanying translation it has been rendered in different places either Temperance or Wisdom, as the connection seemed to require."

Such difficulties are insurmountable. Making due allowance for them, and for the puns, derivations, etc., which are untranslatable, the version is, in general, all that could be desired. Professor Jowett has followed, with a few exceptions, Stallbaum's text; he appears also to have followed Stallbaum's interpretations, and occasionally gives a meaning to a disputed word or phrase different from that assigned by other English scholars. But these are chiefly differences of taste, about which dogmatism would be unseemly.

#### JOHN ADAMS.\*

It is nearly twenty years since the "Life and Works of John Adams," written and edited by his grandson, were published in ten substantial octavo volumes. They furnished a fitting memorial of one of the most prominent men, and, as we think, on the whole, the most able and serviceable one of our heroic age. We say this in view of the continuousness and the variety of his patriotic labors, which, by a combination of scholarly, intelligent, and personal qualities with true statesmanship, high moral purity, and extended intercourse with many European courts, gave him opportunities of influence and of action exceeding those shared by any of his compeers. The demands on the ability and fidelity of great and good men, in field and council, in our Revolutionary era, exacting as they were, could be met only by a draft on the diversified partitions of gifts and special faculties, for which, according to the law of human endowment, we must look in many directions. Washington, John Adams, Franklin, Jefferson, Hamilton, is, we apprehend, the order on the scale by which our age, after fair and deliberate review, disposes its great men. "The Life of John Adams," when accessible only as one of a series of costly volumes, was out of the reach and even of the knowledge of thousands of readers, by whom, through the agency of town libraries, book clubs, stores, and wayside stalls, it will now be sure of perusal. We should be glad to believe that it will be one of the manuals for the ambitious youth all over our country who have in view politics, or even only law, as the profession of their lives. For, in the compact and attractive form in which the biography now appears apart from the works, it will be likely to have, as it deserves, a wide circulation.

In the interval, during the appearance of the Life in these two forms, there have been published several works of national interest—the biographies of the leading men of the Revolutionary era—the authors of which have had to recognize and to treat, as their wisdom or partisanship might dispose them to do, the more prominent matters of personal and political dissonance and controversy between their respective subjects. Mr. Randall has given us "The Life of Jefferson" in three solid volumes. Mr. John C. Hamilton, in seven more volumes—one of which contains nearly a thousand pages—has swept the field in the assumption conveyed in the title of his work—"History of the Republic of the United States of America, as traced in the Writings of Alexander Hamilton and of his Contemporaries." A feature most characteristic of this work, and exceedingly objectionable and censurable, is the way in which the letters and speeches of many of those "contemporaries" are quoted, in fragments, half-sentences, and passages forced out of their connection. The late Mr. Wm. C. Rives has furnished us with only three volumes of his proposed work on "The Life and Times of James Madison." In the meanwhile, Mr. Bancroft, continuing the publication of his history into the Revolutionary period, has freely, not always judiciously, expressed his opinions of the character and course of the leading spirits of the time, and he has had to run the gauntlet of a whole phalanx of grandsons—saving only Mr. C. F. Adams—who have undertaken to vindicate their ancestors against his judgments. It is to be supposed that the grandson of John Adams is acquainted with the contents of the works we have named. And if he has read them, as also the first volume—all that has yet appeared—of "The Life of Timothy Pickens," we admire the calmly-assured, and, as we believe, the reasonable and well-grounded judgment, under the guidance of which he has thought it wholly unnecessary, for anything that they contain, to alter a single word in the biography of his grandfather.

There is something quite unique and suggestive in the title-page before us. We know of nothing parallel with it in literature or in political history. An entail of honors and talents, of the highest classes, through

three generations, marks in this New World, in which hereditary titles and privileges are forbidden, a result reached by fortune and merit such as has not been realized in any family history in the Old World, even with all the aid of law and conventionalism. Taking in connection with this fact another, that Mr. C. F. Adams is the father of three sons, each of whom has already given evidence of an inheritance in the family abilities, temperament, and aptitudes for public life, and it seems as if our citizens ought to furnish what help they can through their political canvasses and elections to lengthen out the entail of honors. The services of Mr. C. F. Adams at the British Court, under embarrassments very similar to those which his grandfather encountered, especially from the disdain and superciliousness visited through both of them alike upon the humiliated country which they represented, were of the most signal character, and secured to him the homage and gratitude of this whole people. If he is not chosen in his succession the next President of the United States, the only explanatory reason for the failure will be that humbling confession which seems to rest upon an admitted axiom among us, that eminent personal fitness of character and qualification for that exalted office is proportionally a popular and political disability in the way even of a nomination for it.

During the interval between the publication of the earlier and the present editions of "The Life of John Adams," the grandson, in performing the exacting duties of the diplomatic office just referred to, had many opportunities to reconsider the language quoted from his ancestor, and not softened in additional expressions of his own, about the sentiments and the conduct of England towards this country. In a very admirable and most modest preface to the work before us, the writer says: "The strictures founded upon the course of British statesmen, as well as of the nation collectively towards this country, are left to stand very much as they were." He adds: "This is mentioned in order to preclude any inference that might be hastily drawn, of the intervention of some later cause of irritation to sharpen the language. Whilst my subsequent opportunities of close personal observation have but confirmed me in the conviction of their substantial justice, I should not be willing to give rise to an impression that they had been prompted by any sensibility of my own." This manly statement is followed by a courteous acknowledgment on the part of Mr. Adams for himself, that, considering the nature of his position during a very critical period, the spontaneous and generous testimony of good-will which he personally received, publicly and privately, as a representative of his country, from various quarters and opposite classes, will always claim his grateful recognition. We believe this is the only public reference which Mr. Adams has yet made to his own private experiences and feelings during the period of extreme anxiety and protracted discipline for himself and for our country, when under the forms of official courtesy he knew very well was disguised a desire for our discomfiture and ruin.

Though it may be taken for granted that John Adams was born after the manner of human infants, on a particular day of a month of a year, the biographer having failed to make any statement of the date, the reader may find the deficiency supplied by the inscription on the President's monument copied on the last page of Volume II. "Begun by John Quincy Adams," says the title-page of the book. The second President Adams's share in the work is very small, and we think most readers will be glad that the grandson's pen comes in as soon as it does to relieve the old-fashioned and not brilliant moralizing and references to antiquated lore which burden the first two chapters. Yet, perhaps, it was well that the son should start his father on his career, and leave to the grandson, with his lively and pointed style, and his modernized culture and his acquaintance with the developments which time and experience have so richly furnished, to draw out that long-extended and laborious career.

And what a noble and honorable and conspicuous career it was, how crowded with exciting and exacting surprises, with difficult and emergent occasions, with varied and ever faithfully fulfilled tasks, which required knowledge, virtue, disinterestedness, the loftiest patriotism, and the greatest skill. He seems to have been in training from his youth for the services of his life. Had he known when a college student what occupations and experiences were to engage his manhood, and what sort of mental and moral furniture they would require, he could not have been placed under better circumstances for discipline, nor chosen a wiser method of study and culture. His early reading in law, in ethics, and in the science of government enabled him to make the most desirable contribution to the opening cause of his country just at the crisis when it was most needed, and when he alone was at hand to impart it.

\* "The Life of John Adams. Begun by John Quincy Adams. Completed by Charles Francis Adams." Revised and corrected. In 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1871.

We do not wish here to reopen any of the old feuds, nor to rake the ashes of the fierce animosities which were most embittered at the time of Mr. Adams's retirement from public life. Our own conviction is that the development of events proved that, from first to last, he was right in the views which he held and in the course which he wished to be pursued by his country as to its relations respectively with France and England. The great reward and glory of his laborious and honored life came in his protracted old age. The calumnies of his bitterest enemies had been silenced or disproved. The integrity and fidelity of his various public services had been illustrated. His special policy in the matters in which it had been most opposed had been proved wise and right. And when, on the verge of ninety years, he saw his son holding the highest place in the nation, he might well sigh his *nunc dimittis*.

*Walks in Rome.* By Augustus J. C. Hare. (London: Strahan & Co. New York: Geo. Routledge & Sons.)—The change in the political state of Rome makes the book of Mr. Hare likely to be the last, as it certainly is the best, of the many compendiums of the guide-book knowledge of the Eternal City. It is well written, thoroughly studied, and put together with an intelligence of the needs of the flying tourist, without in the least neglecting the wants of those who need historical and topical references. To old residents in Rome this book will be valuable as a repository of the facts, historical references, names, dates, etc., which they may wish to recall; to those who wish to visit Rome, it will illustrate what the author says of such, ("Those will enjoy Rome most who have studied it thoroughly before leaving their own homes,") by showing the force of what seems to us the great secret of the fascination of the city of illusions. There is a fascination in the place that no one escapes, and to which most people yield willingly, as to opium or ether—even those who abhor it and leave it, find themselves, as Hawthorne says, "astonished by the discovery by-and-by that their heart-strings have mysteriously attached themselves to the Eternal City, and are drawing them thitherward again, as if it were more familiar, more intimately their home than even the spot where they were born." It is like the palace of Circe. To many people Rome is repulsive from the beginning, but even to these the fascination comes with time.

"Walks in Rome" has all the places of interest arranged in an itinerary, which ensures the greatest possible economy of time, and to each in its proper place are appended all the references necessary to an understanding of the subject, with quotations from a long list of authors, not so senseless or useless, not to say misleading, as the everlasting quotations from Byron and Rogers with which the guide-books are freighted. They are chosen from authors of all beliefs and all religions, and all to the point, though not all of equal value.

The introductory chapter gives promise of another book on the excursions about Rome, which will not only be a more interesting theme, but one which will task the compiler's (for "Walks in Rome" is not much else than compilation) ability far more than this. The pleasant journeys there are, in the Sabine and the Volsian hills—as unknown to the guide-books as South America, and likely to remain such while the Papal authority kept the police of the country—are more than an average resident of Rome would believe. There are within a few miles of Rome some of the finest examples of Pelasgic wall building in Italy,

and some quite unique; and the Campagna itself, the one thing of Rome proper which, in its desolation and lonely impressiveness, is unparalleled in the world's landscape, except, in another way, by the Adirondack woods, and in still another by the open ocean. A guide-book to the Campagna, as far as Filletino, Civita Castellana, Corneto, Porta d'Anzio, and Norba, would include half the world of history, and treat of scores of places of the most romantic interest, after Rome and Athens, in the Old World.

*Wild Nature: a series of Charcoal Sketches*, by Virgil Williams. Photographed by H. G. Smith. (Boston: Virgil Williams.)—Lovers of outdoor life will find this portfolio a pleasant reminder of vacations spent with rod, or gun, or line; and an incentive to future recreation of the same sort. The twelve views (of which the photographic print measures about 17½ in. x 9½ in.) represent the favorite haunts of trout and pickerel and blue-fish, of woodcock, quail, grouse, snipe, and duck, of hare, deer, and moose, with some action of man or beast suitable to the place. The figure-drawing is rather less successful than the landscape, which, including one sea-view, seems true to nature as we have known her, especially in New England. The scene, for example, in which the interesting group of moose is depicted we recognize as characteristic of the lakes of Maine; and we may mention as equally agreeable in recalling familiar situations the quiet cove of the pickerel fishers, the distant and near view in the quail shooting picture, and the sea swell in the trolling for blue-fish. Nearly all the designs are graceful in composition, and would bear framing. The set is sold at twenty dollars, and will more than repay the purchaser who gets from it, if nothing else, an inspiration to follow its pointings towards health and a rational diversion from hurry and care.

## BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

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| Abbot (J.), <i>Science for the Young</i> ; Heat.....                                | (Harper & Bros.)                 |        |
| Abstract of Colenso on the Pentateuch, swd.....                                     | (American News Co.)              | \$0 25 |
| American Law Times Reports, Vol. III.....   | (Washington)                     |        |
| Among My Books.....   | (E. J. Hale & Son)               |        |
| Baring-Gould (S.), <i>Gabrielle André: A Tale</i> , swd.....                        | (D. Appleton & Co.)              |        |
| Barnes (Rev. A.), <i>Notes on Romans</i> , 10th ed.....                             | (Harper & Bros.)                 |        |
| Bayne (P.), <i>Life and Letters of Hugh Miller</i> , 2 vols.....                    | (Gould & Lincoln)                |        |
| Beaman (C. C., Jr.), <i>The Alabama Claims and their Settlement</i> .....           | (Washington)                     |        |
| Bill (L.), <i>Minnesota: its Character and Climate</i> .....                        | (Wood & Holbrook)                |        |
| Black (W.), <i>The Monarch of Mincing-Lane</i> , swd.....                           | (Harper & Bros.)                 | 50     |
| Butler (W. A.), <i>Lawyer and Client</i> .....                                      | (D. Appleton & Co.)              |        |
| Carlyle (T.), <i>Sartor Resartus</i> .....  | (Scribner, Welford & Co.)        | 90     |
| Cockton (H.), <i>Valentine Vox, the Ventriloquist</i> , swd.....                    | (T. B. Peterson & Bros.)         | 75     |
| Corson (Prof. H.), <i>Hand-Book of Anglo-Saxon and Early English</i> .....          | (Holt & Williams)                |        |
| Dingley (T.), <i>History from Marble</i> , 2 vols.....                              | (Camden Society)                 |        |
| Dumas (A.), <i>Bragelonne, the Son of Athos</i> , swd.....                          | (T. B. Peterson & Bros.)         | 75     |
| Flight at Dame Europa's School.....   | (F. B. Felt & Co.)               | 50     |
| Flammarion (C.), <i>The Wonders of the Heavens</i> .....                            | (Charles Scribner & Co.)         | 1 50   |
| Flotow (F. von), <i>Martha: Opera</i> , complete, swd.....                          | (O. Ditson & Co.)                | 1 00   |
| Froude (J. A.), <i>Calvinism</i> .....  | (Charles Scribner & Co.)         |        |
| Greene (W. B.), <i>Transcendentalism</i> , 4th ed., swd.....                        | (Lee & Shepard)                  |        |
| Halsey (Prof. Le R. J.), <i>Memoirs of Rev. Lewis W. Green</i> , D.D.....           | (Charles Scribner & Co.)         |        |
| Illustrated Kriegs-Chronik, Parts 13, 14, swd.....                                  | (B. Westermann & Co.)            |        |
| Lever (C.), <i>Tom Burke "of Ours"</i> , swd.....                                   | (T. B. Peterson & Bros.)         | 75     |
| Littell's Living Age, Vol. XX., Jan.-Mar., 1871.....                                | (Littell & Gay)                  |        |
| Maxwell (L. D.), <i>The Suburbs of Cincinnati</i> .....                             | (Geo. E. Stevens & Co.)          |        |
| Munsell (Rev. O. S.), <i>Psychology: A Text Book</i> .....                          | (D. Appleton & Co.)              |        |
| Randolph (R.), <i>Windfalls</i> .....   | (Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger) |        |
| Sober Thoughts on Staple Themes.....  |                                  |        |
| Ray (Dr. T.), <i>Medical Jurisprudence of Insanity</i> , 5th ed.....                | (Little, Brown & Co.)            |        |
| Riley (C. V.), <i>Noxious, Beneficial, and Other Insects of Missouri</i> , swd..... | (Jefferson City)                 |        |
| Sadler (Rev. M. F.), <i>Abundant Life, and Other Sermons</i> .....                  | (Pott & Amery)                   | 2 00   |
| Sand (Mme. G.), <i>The Marquis de Villemer</i> , swd.....                           | (J. R. Osgood & Co.)             | 75     |
| Schiller (E.), <i>Hand-book of Progressive Philosophy</i> .....                     | (J. S. Redfield)                 |        |
| Shairp (J. C.), <i>Culture and Religion in some of their Relations</i> .....        | (Hurd & Houghton)                | 1 25   |
| Smead (Prof. M. J.), <i>The Antigone of Sophocles</i> .....                         | (D. Appleton & Co.)              |        |
| The Workshop, No. 3, swd.....   | (E. Steiger)                     | 40     |
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